

THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY

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The Sixth Annual Meeting of The Classical Association of the Atlantic States was held on May 3-4, at the University of Pennsylvania. The programme was as follows:

Friday afternoon: Address of Welcome, by Professor Josiah Penniman, Vice-Provost of the University; Response, by Professor George D. Kellogg, Vice-President of the Association for Eastern New York; Paper (illustrated): The Genesis of Rome's Military Equipment, by Dr. Eugene S. McCartney, University of Pennsylvania; Paper: *The Encomium on Helen* of Gorgias, by Professor Larue Van Hook, Columbia University; Paper (illustrated): A Journey in Roman Africa, by Professor B. L. D'Ooge, Michigan State Normal College; Report of the Executive Committee; Report of the Secretary-Treasurer; at 7.30, Dinner at the Bartram; Friday evening, Paper (illustrated): Sicily, Some Sites of Interest to a Teacher of Vergil and Homer, by Professor Walton B. McDaniel, University of Pennsylvania.—Saturday morning: Paper (illustrated): An Article of Roman Furniture—the Puteal, by Professor Walter Dennison, of Swarthmore College; Paper: What's in a name? (an account of Roman names), by Dr. Guy Blandin Colburn, of Swarthmore College; Paper: The Direct Method in Latin Teaching, by Dr. Edward C. Chickering, of the High School, Jamaica, New York City; Paper: Latin Composition in the Secondary School: its Object, Method, and Material, by Dr. B. W. Mitchell, of the Central High School, Philadelphia; Election of Officers; General Business.—Saturday, at 1: Luncheon, given by the University of Pennsylvania.—Saturday afternoon, Paper: Classical Latin and Vulgar Latin, by Professor Charles L. Durham, of Cornell University; Paper: A Characterization of Gallic Latin, by Professor George D. Kellogg, of Union College; Paper: Plautus as an Acting Dramatist, by Mr. Wilton W. Blancké, of Central High School, Philadelphia.

All the arrangements for the meeting had been made with admirable care, and were carried out with equal skill and fine taste. The dinner on Friday evening began promptly and was conducted with such despatch that the diners were able to reach the Museum, in which the sessions of the meeting were held, in time to allow Professor McDaniel to begin his paper at 9.30. The attendance was good: nearly 200 persons were present at the first session, 118 at the dinner, 150 at Professor McDaniel's paper, and over 150 at the two sessions on Saturday and at the luncheon.

The meeting was thus a distinct success. The weather was delightful, the attendance good, the papers decidedly interesting and well presented, and there was a fair amount of discussion, at least of the papers approaching the realm of pedagogics.

To some, however, there were grounds for disappointment, in the fact that certain districts and colleges were not represented at all at the meeting.

Professor B. L. D'Ooge, of the Michigan State Normal College, and Dr. William Gallagher, of the Thayer Academy, South Braintree, Mass., were present as Delegates from The Classical Association of the Middle West and South and The Classical Association of New England; both made speeches at the dinner on Friday evening, in which they brought the greetings of their Associations.

For the Executive Committee the Secretary-Treasurer reported that his accounts had been examined by an Auditing Committee appointed by the President, and that the accounts had been found correct in all respects (the Committee consisted of Messrs. B. W. Mitchell and G. L. Plitt, of Philadelphia). The Committee recommended that a list of names of the members of the Association be printed in a pamphlet, which should also contain the Constitution of the Association, and that the resolutions adopted by The Classical Association of the Middle West and South, at Cincinnati, on April 14 last, concerning the resolutions presented in April, 1911, by Professor John C. Kirtland, at the annual meeting of The Classical Association of New England, be approved. These recommendations, as well as the further suggestion that the allowance made to the Secretary-Treasurer and Business Manager of THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY for the coming year of the Association for clerical assistance should be four hundred dollars, were unanimously adopted.

Resolutions were passed extending the hearty thanks of the Association to the Authorities of the University of Pennsylvania and of the Museum of the University for the manifold courtesies extended by them to the Association, and to the members of the local Committee of Arrangements (especially Professor R. G. Kent, Dr. W. Hyde, and Dr. E. S. McCartney) for the fidelity and skill with which they had made and carried out the plans for the meeting.

The reference above to the resolutions of Professor Kirtland calls for some explanation.

A year ago, at the annual meeting of The Classical Association of New England, Professor J. C. Kirtland presented resolutions reciting that there should be a closer union between the Classical Associations of the Middle West, the Atlantic States, and New England, and suggesting that such union could best

be effected by the establishment of a council in which the three Associations would have equal representation. In April, 1911, the resolutions were referred by the Middle West Association to its Executive Committee for consideration and report. The Executive Committee invited The Classical Association of the Atlantic States and The Classical Association of New England to send delegates to the meeting of April 12-14 at Cincinnati, to take action on the resolutions. After considerable discussion, in which Mr. Kirtland and I participated as Delegates, the Committee presented a resolution to the Association providing that, in any and all cases calling for concerted action by the three Associations the Secretaries should constitute a Council, empowered to act at once; it was further provided that the action of its Secretary should be binding on a given Association, when approved by a majority vote of the Executive Committee of that Association. This resolution was adopted. This seems to me a very good plan; it gives a skeleton organization, which it will be easy enough to complete should occasion demand a fuller body, and at the same time imposes little or no expense upon the several Associations.

The reports rendered by the Secretary-Treasurer and the Business Manager of THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY were in all respects exhaustive. A brief summary of the more important items follows:

Balance on hand, in the treasury of The Classical Association, April 15, 1911, \$361.38; collected during the year, for back dues, \$40.50, for current dues, \$809.70, for dues for 1912-1913, \$108.80, for interest, \$2.80, for sundries, \$4.20; total in the funds, \$1424.38. The expenditures (for printing, supplies, rebates, expenses of Delegate to meeting of The Classical Association of New England, postage, clerical assistance, etc.) were \$1010.81. The balance on hand, April 27, 1912, was \$413.57. The balance at the close of the year was thus \$52.19 larger than that at the beginning of the year.

Balance in the treasury of THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY, April 15, 1911, \$187.22. Receipts during the year were \$1432.72. Total in the funds \$1819.94. The expenditures were \$1283.00. The balance on April 27, 1912, was thus \$536.94, an increase of \$149.62 over the balance of April 15, 1911.

The reports also gave an estimate of income for both the Association and THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY to July 1 next and of the bills to be met on account of the current volume of THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY. It was clear that Volume 5, would more than pay for itself and that the balance in the treasury of the Association was in fact even larger than the figures indicated, since the bills for printing in connection with the recent annual meeting had all been met (last year some of these were still outstanding).

During the year the sum of \$213.21 was paid to The University of Chicago Press, for subscriptions to The Classical Journal and Classical Philology made through the Secretary-Treasurer.

The membership on April 27, 1912, was 497 (forty-four had not yet paid dues for 1911-1912); the number of subscribers on the same date was 499.

Total of members and subscribers was thus 996, an increase of 63 over the total of a year ago.

On motion a vote of thanks was tendered to the Secretary-Treasurer for his services during the past year.

The election of officers for 1912-1913 resulted as follows: President, Dr. B. W. Mitchell, Central High School, Philadelphia; Secretary-Treasurer, Professor Charles Knapp, Columbia University; Vice Presidents, for New York, Professor Charles L. Durham, Cornell University, and Professor George D. Kellogg, Union College; for New Jersey, Mr. W. F. Little, Brattle High School, Elizabeth; for Pennsylvania, Professor B. L. Ullman, University of Pittsburgh, and Professor Walter Dennison, Swarthmore College; for Delaware, Mr. Floyd P. Johnson, Friends School, Wilmington; for Maryland, Miss Mary E. Harwood, Girls Latin School, Baltimore; for District of Columbia, Miss Mabel Hawes, Eastern High School.

Lack of space in this closing number makes it impossible to give any account of the papers; they will be published in Volume 6 of THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY. In the case of most of the papers there was little discussion. The two papers, however, which approached the realm of pedagogy—those of Dr. Chickering and Dr. Mitchell—called forth discussion which the President was obliged, reluctantly, to curtail, for lack of time. Evidently certain subjects have a perennial interest. Latin Composition has figured in the programmes of the last three meetings of the Association; yet it was discussed this year with almost as much zest as if it were a wholly novel theme.

The Association has entered upon its sixth full year of existence (it was organized, technically, in November, 1906, but no real progress was made till the meeting held at New York City, in April, 1907, which ranks as the first annual meeting). In the five years since that time the Association has secured five hundred members; it has also carried THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY through five volumes, and has today a comfortable surplus in both its funds, although, when THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY was started, the Association had no guarantee from any source of financial support for its paper. Here is a record of real accomplishment of which the Association and its members may well be proud.

Yet, as we enter upon our sixth full year, we should be thinking rather of the work yet to be done. There are within the territory of the Association at least three thousand persons concerned in the teaching of the Classics, every one of whom ought to be a member of the Association, not so much for the good of the Association, as for his own good. The Officers of the Association ask the vigorous aid of all the present members in the effort to increase largely the membership during this year. Lists of

names of persons engaged in teaching the Classics or friendly to the Classics will be welcomed by the Vice-Presidents and by the Secretary-Treasurer. Personal invitations to such individuals to join the Association will be of much service. The value of THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY to teachers in school and College (on this point many letters, on file in the office of the Business Manager, give enthusiastic testimony) may be pointed out to possible members, and the value of a large Association may also be insisted on with profit.

C. K.

THE FIRST BOOK OF THE ODYSSEY

Among the many features which are being used with success in the teaching of Greek in the schools to-day there is one which, in the opinion of the writer, deserves greater attention. This is the study of literary architecture. In taking up any work of literature with a class the teacher will be well repaid for all the time which he spends, at least in his own preparation, on the study of structural principles. These include not only the framework of the building, which is the outline of the thought, and the relation of one part to another (for example, the relation of the speech to the narrative in history), but also the characteristic features of the literary edifice, and the success with which each fulfills its purpose. This study of structure is the more important in the case of a work which is the first of its kind, or has greatly influenced later literature. Hence the literary form of the *Anabasis*, which constitutes the first military memoirs which we possess, should receive careful attention; hence, also, since the Greek epic has influenced literature quite as much as the Greek temple has influenced architecture, we ought carefully to study its structure. It may not be altogether without value, therefore, to give the results of a structural examination of what may be termed, on the analogy of architecture, the porch of one of the great Greek epics, the first book of the *Odyssey*.

Homeric criticism has belittled the literary worth of this porch. Wilamowitz characterized it as "patch-work": Groeger (*Rheinisches Museum* 59 (1904). 7) thinks it a weak imitation of *Iliad* 24; and Croiset sums up the case for its disparagers by denying to its author "the creative vigor of a great genius". Fortunately, these criticisms need not lead the teacher of today to present half-heartedly to his pupils this first book of the most fascinating romance that can be placed before the boys and girls in the high school. For the tide of criticism is setting strongly in the other direction (see A. Shewan, *Class. Phil.* 7. 193 ff.). Even as long ago as 1898 Professor Gildersleeve wrote (*A. J. P.* 19. 346): "In taking beginners through Homer for the first time, I should be tempted to assume the Unitarian point of view". If the teacher does this, he will examine the book architecturally merely to see if it performs its functions

well or ill, in other words, to return to our figure, to see if this porch, no matter where its materials were found, when and by whom it was constructed, really is a good porch.

The first book of the Homeric epic performs much the same function as does the prologue of Attic tragedy. First, it fixes the attention on the theme of the poem: in the *Iliad* the *μῆνις* is prominent throughout the first book. Secondly, it describes the situation and introduces some of the more important characters. But there is this difference between epos and tragedy: the latter, like the oration of the Athenian law-court, which was the slave of the *kelpsydra*, must exclude all unessential matters and proceed directly toward its goal, while the epic takes a more leisurely course, and admits much extraneous material. Hence, thirdly, beside stating the theme and describing the situation and introducing the characters, the epic prologue must also have a certain degree of completeness. Considered architecturally, the porch of the epic edifice should not only suggest the purpose of the building and give some information by which we may more easily orient ourselves when we are within, but it should also afford us entertainment as we are passing through it.

Let us now examine the first book of the *Odyssey* to see how well it fulfills this three-fold purpose:

(1) It is the person and the character of Odysseus which give unity to the *Odyssey*. Its theme is really the *ἀνὴρ πολύτροπος*. Now the first book, in spite of the fact that as in many a modern drama the hero does not appear in the first act (in Molière's masterpiece, *Tartuffe* appears for the first time in the third act), is full of references to him. Of the 320 verses devoted to affairs at Ithaca about 190 refer to Odysseus. Telemachus is the first to catch sight of Athena-Mentes (113-115), because he is thinking of his father, and his eyes are unconsciously turned toward the door. Athena's conversation with Telemachus is composed largely of references to Odysseus. The entrance of Penelope (328 ff.) is motivated by her grief for her absent husband, and the Suitors' chief interest in the stranger is due to their fear that Odysseus may return. Odysseus, though absent, is present in the minds of all.

(2) The first book gives also a good exposition of the situation at the beginning of the action, and introduces most of the persons who are to take part in the final struggle. Telemachus, Penelope, the Suitors with their leaders—the insolent Antinous and the hypocritical Eurymachus—and even Laertes and Eurycleia are presented to us. The entrance of each is natural and in almost every case is connected with a reference to the absent Odysseus.

(3) There remains the third purpose, to form an entertaining episode complete in itself. In this respect the first book will bear comparison with almost any other in the poem. After the first 95 verses,

which are in a more general way introductory, we have an episode possessing a unity of its own and constructed much after the fashion of an Attic tragedy. The Suitors, with Phemius, form the chorus, and the *dramatis personae* are Athena-Mentes, Telemachus, Penelope, Antinous and Eurymachus, with Eurycleia as a mute.

The theme, which is the transformation of the boy Telemachus into a man, is introduced in a most subtle way: at the gathering of the gods Zeus, in referring to the fate of Aegisthus, quotes the very words of the warning which Hermes conveyed to him (40): "For from Orestes shall come vengeance for the son of Atreus, when he shall come to man's estate". Athena catches at the suggestion. As Orestes on becoming a man slew the slayer of his father, so shall Telemachus assist his father in the struggle at Ithaca. Hence she says: "But I will go to Ithaca that I may rouse Telemachus the more and put courage in his heart (88 f.)". That it was the mention of Orestes which suggested this plan to her is indicated by 298 ff. where, in her appeal to Telemachus to show himself a man, she says: "Art thou not aware of the fame which Orestes gained . . . by slaying his father's murderer? . . . thou, too, my friend, be valiant".

Let us examine the structure of this episode. Verses 96-143 form the Prologos, in which Athena in the guise of Mentes goes to Ithaca and is welcomed by Telemachus, who sets food before her. The next 12 verses (144-155) take the place of the Parodos: the Suitors enter, feast, and listen to the song of Phemius. The first Epeisodion (156-324) consists of the conversation between Athena and Telemachus. It is the longest part of the episode, and is generally regarded as prosaic. We shall return to it later. At its close Athena, having accomplished her purpose, takes her leave, and Telemachus, a boy no longer, joins the Suitors. The *Nóστος Ἀχαιῶν*, sung by Phemius, is equivalent to a Stasimon. In Epeisodion II (328-364) Penelope overhears the song, and being unable to endure the sad recollections which it awakens, descends from her upper room and tells the bard to change his lay. Telemachus asserts his manhood, and bids his mother in the future to recognize him as master in the house. In amazement she retires to her apartments. The Suitors' noisy comments on the beauty of the queen (365 f.) may be regarded as an embryonic Stasimon II. In Epeisodion III (367-420) Telemachus again asserts his manhood, first by objecting to the uproar of the Suitors, and by repeating his resolve to be master in the palace, and, secondly, by declaring his intention of protesting formally before the assembly on the morrow, against their abuse of the privileges of the suitor. The singing and the dancing of the Suitors (421 f.) correspond to Stasimon III. In the Exodos (423-444) the Suitors and Telemachus leave the hall

to go to their rest—Eurycleia accompanying Telemachus.

Here we have a complete episode, constructed like a drama, with Prologos, Parodos, three Epeisodia, three Stasima and Exodos. Not more than three actors speak in any one scene, and the choral parts—which, of course are only embryonic—have reference to the preceding Epeisodion: in the first, the *Nóστος Ἀχαιῶν* is suggested by Mentes's reference to the return of Odysseus: the second is a comment on the beauty of Penelope, who has just left the hall, and the dance and the song of the third are in response to the injunction of Telemachus to enjoy these in moderation.

The general structure of the plot is excellent. The theme of the poem—the absent Odysseus—and the theme of the episode are never forgotten, but are skilfully woven together: it is really the picture of the absent father, brought vividly before the mind of Telemachus by the tact of Athena, that brings to full bloom his budding manhood. Thus there is a two-fold unity, which is required because the episode is part of the poem.

The delineation of the character of Telemachus deserves attention. At first he is a mere boy—his old nurse still puts him to bed (428 ff.). He is well-bred, for he knows how to welcome a stranger, to give him food at once, and then to ask his name and errand (119 ff.) Somewhat impatient, like many another young man, he cannot wait for the end of the dinner, but as soon as the cloth is removed, as it were, he asks the conventional questions (169 ff.) which an older man, like Menelaus or Alcinoüs, would have deferred till later. He is a lonely lad, who either spends his time in the fields (Od. 4. 639 f.), or sits moodily among the Suitors. Only the tact of an Athena can win the confidence and awaken the self-reliance and hopes of such a youth. And she does this most cleverly, by creating the impression that his father will surely return (194 f.) and delicately suggesting his resemblance to Odysseus (217); by taking no notice of his despondency except to prick him gently with the goad of reproach for his passive submission to the Suitors (229, "A man of good judgment would feel indignant at them"); and, finally, by describing most vividly (as an example to him) what Odysseus would do if he were there (255-266). After this she gives him the advice which has brought her to Ithaca (266-287), and caps this with another example, this time of Orestes, a young man of his own age in a similar situation. Then with consummate skill she stops at once, and without giving Telemachus time to offer objections brings the conversation to a close by taking her leave after the usual exchange of commonplaces (271-313).

At this point comes the climax of the episode (320-324): "In his heart she put courage and strength, and reminded him of his father still more than before.

This he marked, and his soul was filled with wonder, for it flashed over him his guest was a god". Without a moment's hesitation he turned towards the Suitors—no longer a child, *ἤρως δ' ἔστω* (297), but *ἰσθθῆος φῶς*, a godlike man.

It remains to test the newly acquired manhood. The first trial of the prince is the easier of the two through which the poet makes him pass—to assert his rights as a man before his mother. The economy of the episode, too, requires this, for Penelope's entrance motives the disturbance of the Suitors (365-366), which in turn is the occasion for the second assertion by Telemachus of his manhood. The Suitors do not notice the prince's change of bearing in the presence of his mother, for her beauty absorbs the attention of all. If, as the critics assert, this entrance of Penelope is but a replica of a similar scene in the twenty-first book, it is used here most fittingly. Like a similar scene in the *τεῖχοςκομία* (Il. 3. 145-160), it is employed both to introduce the heroine and to indicate, without describing, her beauty and also in the economy of the plot.

Telemachus shows a greater degree of manhood in his words to the Suitors (368-380) as well as considerable shrewdness in his reply to Eurymachus (413-410). Verses 374-380 (= Od. 2. 139-145) were apparently introduced here to give completeness to the episode by emphasizing the change in the character of the prince. Their use here is an extreme case of interference with the unity of the poem as a whole for the benefit of the unity of the episode¹.

The action of the episode is now over. It remains to clear the scene, and send the audience home in a calm, and—since this episode is introductory to the story—also in an expectant frame of mind. The Suitors, as night falls, go to their lodgings, and Telemachus to his bed. It has been an epoch-making day in his life. What is more natural than that he should sit for a moment on the couch before retiring? As the old nurse shuts the door of his chamber after her Telemachus closes his eyes, not to sleep, but—as the poet doubtless hoped that each one of his listeners might do to some extent—to ponder in his mind the journey which the goddess had pointed out to him.

If the above analysis of Od. 1. 96-444 is sound, we may claim the acquittal of the poet on the charge of mediocrity which is implied in the epithets 'patch-worker' and 'imitator', for the following reasons: (1) he has stated his theme ingeniously, and worked it out with skill, deftly dividing his little drama into episodes each of which plays a definite part in the development of the plot; (2) he has secured unity by keeping our attention always fixed upon the theme,

the change in the character of Telemachus, and by producing a climax which is not unworthy of being compared with that of the Philoctetes (1222 ff.) which is concerned with a similar theme; (3) he has also made the episode contribute to the progress of the story without sacrificing any of its unity, by introducing most of the *dramatis personae*, and characterizing each, and by focusing our attention at the same time on the absent hero of the poem.

Furthermore, if our analysis is sound, we have found another instance of the debt which tragedy owes to the epic—not only for myth, vocabulary and many of its features, but also for its principles of structure. As the Athenian architects of the fifth century, while following chiefly Dorian models, yet owed much of their greatness to the lessons which they learned from the Ionians, so the tragic poets achieved greatness by working together the Ionian epic with the Dorian lyric. In the opinion of the writer, no debt of tragedy to Homer was greater than for the lessons which he taught in literary structure.

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SAMUEL ELIOT BASSETT.

REVIEW

The Religious Experience of the Roman People, from the Earliest Times to the Age of Augustus.

By W. Warde Fowler. New York: The Macmillan Co. (1911). Pp. xviii + 504. \$4 net.

This volume consists of twenty lectures delivered in Edinburgh University in 1909-1910 on the foundation of Lord Gifford. As the title indicates, Mr. Fowler deals with the development and the decay of the religion of the Romans from the earliest period through the founding of the Empire, always keeping his mind fixed on religion as an experience rather than as a formal and ordered organization. The first half of the book is devoted to a discussion of the primitive elements, known only through their scanty survivals, family religion, the calendar, numina, ritual, and the foreign cults which came early to Rome. The second half takes up the historical development of religion under the new influences from abroad with the consequent conflicts and readjustments, the secularization of religion, the effects of the war with Hannibal, of Greek philosophy and of mysticism; and finally gives three interesting lectures to the religious feeling in Vergil, to the Augustan revival, and to those elements in Roman religion which concern Christianity.

From this rich and abundant program a reviewer can choose only a few points for notice. Mr. Fowler adopts as his definition of religion the words of one of our own countrymen, Professor Ira W. Howerth: "Religion is the effective desire to be in right relations to the Power manifesting itself in the universe". This statement the author makes the guiding thread of his exposition, as he traces religious experience and ritual acts from their ruder forms to the highest development to which they attained before the full tide from the East had profoundly affected the current of religion in the West.

In a survey of the relics of the earliest stages, Mr. Fowler in a single paragraph happily dismisses totem-

¹ A similar interference with the unity of the poem as a whole for the benefit of that of the episode may be seen in one of the most entertaining passages of the *Iliad*, 1. 570-600. Elsewhere in the *Iliad*, e. g. 24. 55-76, divinities wrangle without becoming reconciled, but in the first book the mediation of Hephaestus is needed to bring the Episode—and the day—to a peaceful close.

ism among the Romans to that limbo from which only M. Salamon Reinach and a few other determined writers would try to recall it; but taboo and its opposite, purification, are discussed more at length, as they deserve. Of magic, that mechanical control of the supernatural, the author finds few survivals in the state ritual, for the systematization of religion naturally tended to exclude such irregular methods; they belong rather to the individual than to an organized society. In fact the men who developed the *ius divinum* seem deliberately to have excluded from it, so far as possible, all that was magical, barbarous, or superstitious. These things lived, if at all, only in private practice of which we get some glimpses in the pages of Cato and Varro—mere harmless charms and spells to drive away disease and other evils; or they lingered on in the use of amulets, like the *bullae*, of *oscilla*, *pilae*, etc., whose meaning was early lost.

In his lecture on the calendar of Numa Mr. Fowler points out certain significant results which followed the adoption of fixed dates for festivals by an agricultural people. The most serious of these was the separation between work and religion which came from the inevitable dislocation of the festivals from the times of year appropriate to them. Again, the rigidity and routine in religious duties implied in a fixed calendar tended to lessen the individual's sense of personal dependence on the gods, especially as the rites early began to lose their direct significance and for a long time the *fasti* remained in the hands of a priesthood drawn from the aristocracy. On the other hand, the ordered routine of religious duties was a valuable discipline, and through its fixity and regularity inspired comfort and confidence in relations between men and gods. Yet the weakest point in the organized religion of the state was that its moral influence was chiefly a disciplinary one; the individual was bound to no part in the religious acts of the community, in fact he could ordinarily have no share in them, for these acts could only be performed by trained priests who alone were acquainted with the *ius divinum*. The individual, therefore, had no form of religious expression in which he, as citizen, could share. Furthermore with the growth of the city the old rites, adapted to an agricultural community, came to have less meaning and the shadow *numina* of an earlier day doubtless seemed more remote than before. In Mr. Fowler's happy phrase the highly developed *ius divinum* "hypnotized" the religious instinct rather than kept it awake.

The new population which had expanded the narrow bounds of the city was one interested in trade and industry; as a result of the relations which it established with the outer world of Latium, Etruria, and Magna Graecia, there came to Rome many gods in whose cults all might share. In the struggle between the old and the new a formalized national religion proved in the long run inadequate, so that in the third century before our era there was a tendency to show contempt for religious forms. The disasters of the second Punic War brought a succession of panics which almost completed the destruction of the earlier religion; with the decay of family life which marked the last two centuries of the republic went much of that moral restraint which family ties and family religion had hitherto enforced; and the use of omens and oracles for political ends and selfish purposes marked the disregard for sacred things which the ablest in the state displayed. Furthermore, the revolt against the old *ius divinum* was stimulated by a new spirit of individualism.

The extraordinary religious destitution of the second century B. C. was but partially relieved by Greek philosophy, for Epicureanism could offer no religious sanction for conduct and the Stoicism of this period neglected the emotions on which religious experience depends, although it did make a strong appeal to a sense of duty and of law. The readiness of the people to take up with new and strange religious practices appeared in the rapid spread of the Bacchic rites as well as in the anxious haste with which the government in 181 B. C. killed the attempt to establish Pythagorean propaganda in Rome. Yet before another century had passed a reconciliation between Stoicism and Platonic Pythagoreanism had been made, the influence of which on educated men is clearly seen in Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*. With regard to the mass of the Romans, the present reviewer would go somewhat farther than Mr. Fowler in maintaining that a belief in a future life of rewards and punishments was widespread in the middle of the last century before our era, and would give greater weight than he to the evidence furnished by Lucretius. Surely the poet must have been mad indeed, if he sought to relieve his fellows of a terror which they did not feel, if he exhorted men who did not shrink before the roar of greedy Acheron, and who agreed with his words—*nil igitur mors est ad nos neque pertinet hilum*. Certainly it was a real and pervasive belief that Lucretius attacked. The skepticism of a Caesar and the silence of a Cicero concerning his personal belief, save in those moments when his grief for his daughter stirred him to unusual reflections, cannot be taken as proving anything for the majority of the people.

In his lecture on the religious feeling in the poems of Vergil Mr. Fowler shows how the poet's generation was depressed by a sense of neglected duty, as well as by weariness and discomfort in all its relations. Romans were conscious of failing in their sacred obligations (*pietas*) toward Heaven and man. Vergil was naturally sympathetic with his world and its occupations, he had the capacity to sum up in noble lines Rome's past religious experience as well as her imperial accomplishments, and he could inspire hope for the future. Mr. Fowler concentrates his lecture, then, on Vergil's idea of *pietas*, the fulfillment of which was necessary to carry out Rome's mission in the world; he points out how the poet perfects the *pietas* of his hero through his experiences in the first six books of the *Aeneid* to show in the last six the balance between the individual and the state which was needed for the time. The whole chapter is important and interesting, and deserves to be carefully pondered by all who would understand the *Aeneid* aright. It may be that Mr. Fowler will seem to some to push his theme so far that it obscures other elements in the *Aeneid*, but, if one overlooks the significance of Vergil's treatment of his hero from the point of view which Mr. Fowler presents, he will miss one of the chief motives in the epic. In discussing Augustus's religious revival, our author makes clearer than is usually done the way in which the Emperor's reforms appealed to the conscience of the people, for he seemed by them to have re-established the *pax deorum* which had been long broken. It was this recovery of right relations with divine powers which was celebrated in the *Ludi Saeculares* of 17 B. C. In general Mr. Fowler would assign a more permanent character to the Augustan reforms than is ordinarily done; and there is no doubt that the ancient ritual had enough vitality to continue to the close of Roman paganism. Yet the

reviewer cannot believe that a majority of the Roman gods who furnish Tertullian and Augustine with material for their scorn of paganism had any real existence throughout the empire or would have ever lived in the pages of the Church fathers, if Varro had not preserved them. Yet Mr. Fowler is undoubtedly right in claiming that the Augustan revival of old forms did a valuable service in preventing the worship of the Caesars from becoming unduly prominent and in helping to protect the state from the religions of Mithras and Isis. In spite of the fact that Rome had a slight spiritual legacy to give Christianity, it could make contributions which were not unimportant. The final chapter of the book shows how the old religion proper gave Christianity the idea of a sane and orderly ritual, lent the Latin Church a practical character, and furnished it with a religious vocabulary capable of taking on enlarged meanings; and at the same time Stoicism, Mysticism, and Vergil's work each did its share. As the author says, all this is but a slight contribution; and, if it would not have carried him beyond the chronological limits set for his lectures, he might have added that the larger service of paganism to Christianity was done by Eastern rather than by Western cults.

This is a slight outline of some of the more important topics treated in this book. There are many details on which one would gladly dwell if space allowed. Such are the discussions of certain festivals, like the Lupercalia, the admirable protest against Wissowa's view as to the comparatively late origin of the Argei, the treatment of family religion, the interesting hypothesis as to the source of the Lemuria, and the explanation of Vergil's treatment of the Episode of Dido. An appendix deals with some important matters which could not be treated in the text, and an excellent index finishes the book. The only serious lack in the index, so far as we have noticed, is a reference to Augustine and his *De Civitate Dei*.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

CLIFFORD H. MOORE.

The Origin of Tragedy, with Special Reference to the Greek Tragedians. By William Ridgeway. Cambridge (England): at the University Press (1910). Pp. x + 228.

Some day a benefactor of his kind may prove beyond cavil that the problem of the origin of tragedy is as incapable of solution as is that of squaring the circle. Till that happy day, the learned world must expect to be pestered with various ingenious yet futile efforts at its solution; it takes such a slight shake of the kaleidoscope to make the broken bits of data rearrange themselves in some new and tempting pattern.

Professor Ridgeway's theory of the origin of tragedy was first published some eight years ago, and is well known. It is stated thus on page 93 of the present work: "Tragedy arose from the worship of the dead, and not from that of Dionysus". By thus assuming that tragedy and Dionysus-worship were originally and for a long time distinct, Mr. Ridgeway avoids several awkward difficulties which other scholars have found themselves obliged to face.

For, if we adopt the traditional view, and suppose tragedy to begin as Dionysus-worship, with its chorus of Satyrs dressed in goat-skins, we cannot escape the conviction that the ceremony must have been gross and licentious: the well-known character of the Satyrs, and such testimony as is afforded by the language they use in the Cyclops of Euripides, point in this direction. We may, to be sure, if we so

choose, picture a decorous chorus, something in the style of Moulton's well-known illustration in his *Ancient Classical Drama*, but all analogy is against us. The choruses in the Cyclops and in comedy never attained to any extraordinary decency of speech or action: why should tragedy have been more fortunate than they?

Now, in even the most primitive of our extant tragedies we find no trace of licentiousness or flippancy; and yet, if such qualities once were present there, they would in all probability have persisted. How much easier is it, then, to suppose that they never existed in any form of tragedy, however primitive, than to assume their original existence and then account for their subsequent disappearance. Such is Mr. Ridgeway's method. True tragedy he supposes to have been ever serious and dignified, celebrating the adventures not of Dionysus but of some local hero, while the descendant of primitive Dionysus-worship he sees in the Satyr-drama, which ever remained true to type. When the fame of Dionysus as a chthonic power began to dim the glory of the local hero, the two worships were simply juxtaposed, never mingled.

Again, the traditionalists have to explain how a ceremony that at the start concerned itself purely with the sufferings of the god Dionysus later became so completely secularized as to commemorate almost exclusively the lives of mere mortals. It may be said, of course, that the Satyr-drama shows a tendency to choose its plot more and more from outside the cycle of strictly Dionysiac myth. The Satyr-drama, however, always retained its chorus of Satyrs, and by so doing kept the thought of the god at least in the background of the spectators' consciousness. In the average tragedy, what thought of Dionysus, what concern for him does the spectator have? The human interest is all in all. Now, the theory of separate origins is spared the trouble of explaining what Dieterich used to call the "Verweltlichung" of tragedy, and is by just so much the easier of acceptance.

It is probably well that anthropology should not have everything its own way; and it is accordingly somewhat comforting to have Mr. Ridgeway meet with but doubtful success when he ventures into the field of philology. In dealing with a passage from Herodotus 5.67, quoted on page 28, he renders ἀρῶμαι by 'assigned', and asserts that "the regular meaning of ἀρῶμαι in all Greek dialects is to 'assign', and . . . when Herodotus uses it in the sense of 'restore' he adds ὀρίω". Yet an examination of this word's history would seem to show that the meaning 'assign' is later than Herodotus. This meaning is a favorite one with the classifying philosophers, Plato and Aristotle, and it might not be too bold to suppose that it was first popularized by them. At any rate, it is far safer, in the passage in question, to keep to the traditional rendering.

Aristotle's famous dictum connecting tragedy with the dithyramb Mr. Ridgeway seeks to set aside by impeaching the credibility of the witness, and practically accusing him of self-contradiction. This is perhaps the weakest part of Mr. Ridgeway's argument and by it he can hardly hope to shake the allegiance of the adherents of the older theory.

The last chapter in the book shows our author at his best, and is a penetrating and illuminating criticism of Aeschylus, which will be read with profit and delight by all lovers of that poet.

MIDDLEBURY COLLEGE,
Middlebury, Vermont.

W. S. BURRAGE.

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